THE WOMAN'S

DREADNOUGHT

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THE RAASAY ISLANDERS—What are they fighting & working for?

In the House of Commons on February 22nd Mr. Wilkie asked whether, in order to defeat the attempts of the Raasay iron-ore miners to secure higher wages, German prisoners had been engaged to do their work. Mr. Kellaway, replying for the Secretary for Scotland, said that the Raasay mines are worked by a firm acting as agents for the Ministry of Munitions, that the ordinary labourers are paid 5s. a day, and those with more skill at a higher rate, and that no person belonging to the Islands had been displaced by German labour.

The official reply was merely an attempt to thrust on one side an unpleasant matter which had already been many times put forward. But the matter could not thus be shelved, and on February 24th the Solicitor-General agreed to visit Raasay to hear the islanders' complaints. The meeting was fixed for Saturday afternoon, March 3rd, but changed, with little warning, to ten o'clock on the same day. The mine workers asked Mr. Munro, the manager of Messrs. Baird (who are the mine owners and landlords of the island), for permission to attend the inquiry, but this was refused. The officials of the Miners' Union also requested the men's presence and received a refusal. Mr. Morison, the Solicitor-General, adopted a hostile attitude towards the islanders, which was resented by Mr. Bruce, representing the Raasay Miners' and Workers' Union and the Highland Land League, who said that the Solicitor-General behaved as though he were a representative of Bairds. The Solicitor-General asked any man present who agreed with Mr. Bruce to stand up, whereat almost all the audience rose, and many asked whom Mr. Morison represented if not the employers and landlords.

The evidence disclosed that many islanders had worked in the mines for 18s. or £1, some even got as little as 15s. a week, but that since the agitation for increased wages some had got 25s. or 26s., others 30s. a week. These men worked as miners underground and on the surface in the engine-house, etc., for nine hours a day. One man who got £4 or £5 a month in Raasay went to New Zealand, and was paid £20 to £30 a month there for similar work. A man who was one of the first to start opening the Raasay mines was paid £1 a week, and told not to tell, as others only got 15s. to 18s. Later he got 22s. 6d. to 24s. The mines were very wet; he was refused oil-skins and higher wages. He left the mine and applied for work with a railway contractor; he was told that he must first get permission to work on the railway from Baird's manager. This was conceded, and he was paid 32s. a week, but told that Bairds must not know that he had so much, "as islanders were not to get more than 4½d. per hour." He afterwards got work on the mainland at 8½d. per hour. A man from the Island of Rona was promised 5s. a day at Raasay Mines, but on getting there was only offered 18s. 6d. a week, with 3s. war bonus. He returned home, and was called up for military service. A man who began working for Bairds in Skye in 1912 was paid £1 a week, he afterwards replaced a foreman paid 48s., but only got 22s. A man who walked eight miles to and from the mine got 18s. week and 3s. bonus; his brother got 15s., his nephew 13s. for work in the mine. The brother and nephew enlisted because they could not exist on these wages. They lost their lives fighting in France.

The complaint that islanders are replaced by German prisoners was made by most witnesses. An assistant piermaster, whose wages have been raised from £1 to 26s. a week, said he worked from 17 to 18 hours a day. A man who started work at 18s., and now got 30s., had supervised the German prisoners: he said that as they took little interest in the work three of them did no more than one islander. He added: "I know that Raasay islanders have been displaced by German prisoners. . . . I regard the bringing in of German prisoners as being a reply to the islanders holding out for better wages. Forty or 60 prisoners are doing work formerly done by 20 or less Raasay men." An engineman said that two years ago he was paid 18s. a week; at the end of 1916 he told the foreman he could not continue at this wage. The manager replied, "I'll report you; you'll either work here or go to France." When the engineman repeated his demand for higher wages to the manager, the latter said to the foreman, "Get another man in this man's place." Later the same man worked in the mines at £1 a week, but when he refused to work on Sunday his place was taken by a German prisoner. Another witness said that men who did not live in Baird's houses at the mine were "put off" and replaced by German prisoners. He had left because he could not live on 24s. a week: his place was taken by a German prisoner.

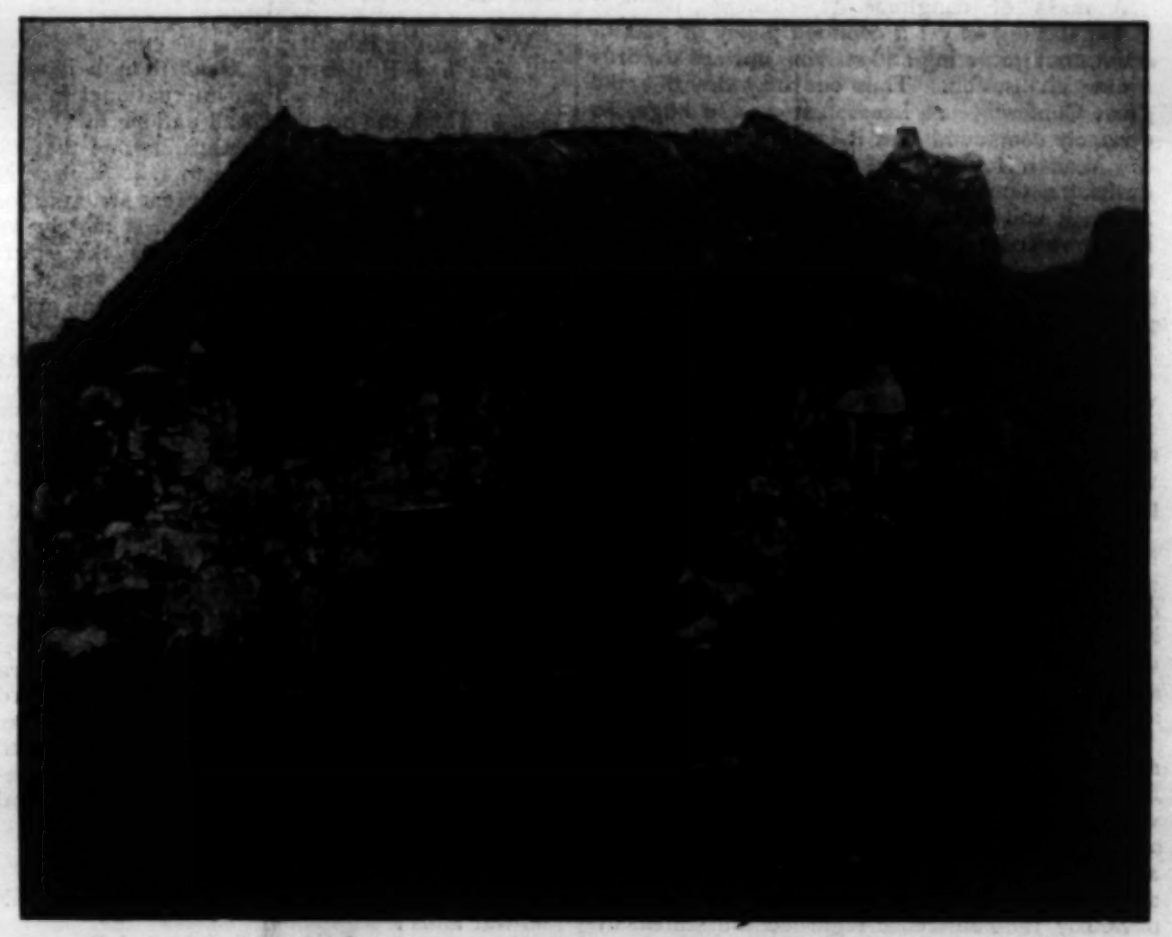
It was stated by many witnesses that men from the mainland were paid more than the islanders, presumably because they cannot be obtained for the low rates on which the islanders have existed. One man, paid 24s., said the mainland men working beside him got 54s. Bairds called two witnesses, both of whom were mainland men; they were satisfied, as they got 11s. a day. Baird's manager instructed his witnesses not to answer questions put by the miners' representative.

There were many complaints that Baird's houses, in which the miners live, and for which they pay rent, are out of repair. One man said that Bairds had promised to build a house for him, but left it without a roof. When he made it habitable, Bairds claimed it.

Some witnesses complained that the potato plots of the islanders had been enclosed in the German prisoners' compounds, and that no compensation had been given. The potatoes were valued at £10 per plot, not including labour. The loss was very serious to the islanders.

An islander of Rona said he lived on a miserable patch of land, and existed by fishing and by what he could grow on it, and he and his family lived in a one-roomed hovel, 15 ft. by 14 ft., which was not weatherproof. He paid £4 a year for his croft, and had applied in vain for some arable land in the south that he might grow potatoes. There are no roads there, and all that the people need they carry on their backs. The Land Court, the people of Rona said, never comes there. There is no store or food depôt on the island, and witnesses said if all the young men are taken away those who remain will starve. A man of Raasay said that he rented a croft, with some grazing land on the hill, but Bairds took away the hill land without reducing the rent. He had been evicted and imprisoned for continuing to graze his cattle on the hill, and said, "I have been harassed and persecuted until I have scarcely anything left, and might as well be shot as left as I am."

The above revelations should open the eyes of workers who are enthusiastic about the War. Messrs. Baird, no doubt, profess to be ardent "patriots," but they do not shrink from employing Germans to prevent their fellow-countrymen from forcing them to pay a decent wage? We want to know how much profit Messrs. Baird are making out of the work they are doing for the Minister of Munitions in Raasay; also what they pay for the services of the German prisoners.



HOW THE RAASAY ISLANDERS "LIVE."

It appears to us that the fair wages clause should be made to operate in Raasay as elsewhere: if 11s. a day is the usual rate for the job, as presumably it is, seeing that it is paid to the men from the mainland, why is it not to be paid to the natives of Raasay?

Surely the Raasay situation is proof enough that the real war is the war at home!

A PEOPLE'S CHARTER

By the Rev. G. T. SADLER.

1. Peace without annexations of *new* territory.
   (Internationalise trade in Africa.)
2. Freedom for all political and religious prisoners.
   (Injustice of punishing C.O.s again and again for one and the same "offence.")
3. Declaration of the sacredness of all human lives.
   (Men came before money, persons before property: this cuts at the root of war.)
4. A League, including the Central Powers, to bring disarmament and keep peace, by consent, not coercion (which necessitates great armies).
5. Armaments to be made no longer by private companies.
6. Voluntary training in ways of unarmed defence and goodwill, instead of conscription.
7. Establishment of International Socialism on wide lines.
   (Dignified strike if a Government proclaim a war.)
8. Abolition of capital punishment and alteration of prison discipline.
   (Its silence and soul-crushing trustlessness to be abolished.)
9. Raising the amount of old age pensions.
10. Abolition of secret diplomacy.
11. Restoration of Trade Union rules.
12. Votes for women as for men.
13. Minimum income for all adult men and women in the State, low enough to encourage them to work.
14. More houses at once.
15. Nationalisation of railways, mines, land.
    (This to go on with.)

What do our readers think?

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THE LEEDS CONFERENCE

A mass of conglomerate elements, not yet fused, lacking as yet a common policy or plan of action, but gathering and striving upward towards a new civilisation. Thus one may describe the great Conference at Leeds. It was so huge, so diversely compound that it is difficult to write of it. Was it for political action: was it for industrial action? As a whole it did not know. As yet it had worked out no details of the future. It only voiced a growing deeply felt revolt against things as they are: the War with its hideous carnage, and the capitalist system, which perpetuates the cruel War of exploitation and wage-slavery, even in times of so-called peace.

It was a workers' conference; though a few well-to-do delegates were present from such organisations as the U.D.C., the overwhelming majority were labouring men and labouring women, the women forming a much larger proportion than usual of the delegates.

There were doubting elements in the conference, here and there delegates might express faint-hearted fears as to whether anything could be done now in the immediate present, but the feeling of the conference as a whole was bolder than that of the platform and it swept the platform speakers onward by the waves of its great applause, and by its vital pertinent comments, so that the words of the speakers grew firmer and more direct as they progressed. Ramsay MacDonald paused with: "This is controversial," when he expressed the view that at the beginning of the War organised labour had lost the initiative, and that it ought not to have lost the initiative and become merely an echo of autocracy. But obviously the conference regarded the statement as entirely obvious and uncontrovertible. Cheers greeted the Chairman, Robert Smillie, who seemed to be struggling with feeble health. The response that burst upon him must surely have brought new courage, if the difficulties which he has faced in these hard times have weighed heavily upon him. He opened with carefully chosen words and with what seemed a note of caution. But for the Russian Revolution this conference could not have been held in this country where we were scarcely in a position to call our souls our own, and had long lost the right to call our bodies our own. Sections of the press had tried to prevent the holding of this conference, but it was called to discuss reason, not treason. Could any one say there was no need for such joint councils as it was proposed to set up, that the treatment of the discharged soldiers, for instance, has been such as to render action to help them unnecessary? The promoters of the conference desired to draw the attention of the people to that matter; they desired to concentrate the opinions and will of the people upon peace—there the applause broke out quick beating and deep-throated, peace was of all words the most popular.

HAIL, THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION!

The first resolution hailed the Revolution in Russia:

"This conference of Labour, Socialist and Democratic organisations of Great Britain hails the Russian Revolution! With gratitude and admiration it congratulates the Russian people upon a Revolution which has overthrown a tyranny that resisted the intellectual and social development of Russia, which has removed the standing menace of an aggressive imperialism in Eastern Europe, and which has liberated the people of Russia for the great work of establishing their own political and economic freedom on a firm foundation, and of taking a foremost part in the international movement for working-class emancipation from all forms of political, economic, and imperialist oppression and exploitation."

Ramsay Macdonald, in moving this, received a great ovation. Because he has been reviled by the militarists, the workers revolting against militarism look to him to be their champion. He is a golden tongued orator, his phrases are fashioned finely, his voice is beautiful. The people laughed with him when he said that we are not glad of the Russian Revolution because we are *compelled* to be glad, as some others are. The hearts of the people thrilled with him when he spoke of the old oppression of Russia, the long martyrdom staining her history like a trail of blood and the bursting of freedom in a flood of light and hope "not for Russia only, thank God, but for the whole world." But did he not rather underrate the knowledge and intelligence of his audience, was he quite fair to the delegates who hung on his words when he said that to-day the Government and the people of Russia are one? Is it not plain that still the Russian Revolution is continuing: still the struggle is going on: still the hold of the capitalists is upon the country and only in part is it overthrown? Did he fail to realise the spirit of internationalism which animated his hearers, or was he speaking to a less enlightened outside public when he urged that the British people must say to Russia: "Restrain the anarchy in your midst: put yourselves at the head of the democracies of Europe so that you and we together can go out fighting from height to height bringing humanity still further upward. We know that touching your hands, we touch something primitive, unsullied by capitalism, together we will march out to subdue the world to the worker?"

Why must he thus harp upon the comradeship of Russian and British workers as though it were but a dual thing and not an international fellowship in which the peoples of all nations must, and will, join? Why should he thus assume that we here in Britain have any title to take a place in advance of other nations in the great struggle for freedom? Was his choice of words merely an accident, or was it a forfeiture to that spirit which now so loudly cries: "We are more righteous than the people of other nations"? Why did he say to the Russian people: "Restrain the anarchy in your midst?" The symptoms which our capitalist press decries as "anarchy," are in reality the strivings of the Russian populace to make their revolution complete, to secure, not merely a series of political reforms, but to establish a brother and sisterhood. If we in truth realise that in Russia is a spirit great and primitive, a vision unclouded, as ours is, by long immersion in the capitalist system, surely we should refrain from butting in with cautious counselling fashioned in the compromising atmosphere of the House of Commons.

The resolution was seconded by Mrs. Dora Montefiore. She had no gift of oratory, she had difficulty in making herself heard, but there were ringing cheers when she said: "You have got to do what the Russians have done; are you prepared to be mobilized in the great fight to end wage-slavery?"

A PEOPLE'S PEACE.

The second resolution dealt with foreign policy and war aims:

"This conference of Labour, Socialist and Democratic organisations of Great Britain hails with the greatest satisfaction the declaration of the foreign policy and the war aims of the Russian Provisional Government, and it shares with them the firm conviction that the fall of Tsardom and the consolidation of democratic principles in Russia's internal and external policy will create in the democracies of other nations new aspirations towards a stable peace and the brotherhood of nations. In that belief we pledge ourselves to work for an agreement with the international democracies for the re-establishment of a general peace which shall not tend towards either domination by or over any nation, or the seizure of their national possessions, or the violent usurpation of their territories—a peace without annexations or indemnities and based on the rights of nations to decide their own affairs; and as a first step towards this aim we call upon the British Government immediately to announce its agreement with the declared foreign policy and war aims of the democratic Government of Russia.

Philip Snowden moved it, and with a humorous little smile, discounted the storm of cheers that greeted him, by saying that this conference was more than a demonstration: it was an occasion for calm and serious consideration of important questions. This resolution asked the Convention to accept the decision of the Russian Workers' and Soldiers' Delegates that in the name of the men in the trenches the War must be brought to an end at the earliest possible moment. It was almost identical with the phraseology of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Council, which declared for no annexations, no indemnities, and the right of every nation to dispose of its own destiny. Very searchingly Snowden analysed how the phrase "no annexations" is understood by the Russian revolutionaries and what has been said about it by British Liberal and Tory leaders. Mr. Asquith professed to accept the no annexation formula; then stated that annexation may be justified for strategic reasons or to liberate subject peoples. Lord Robert Cecil also declares his acceptance of no annexations, but he refuses to withdraw a word of the Allies' declaration of their War aims; he demands the dismemberment of Austria, the bundling of Turkey out of Europe, and the retention of four hundred thousand square miles of German territory in Africa, as justified, not by imperialism, but as part of the divine vision of the British people to relieve the oppressed wherever found. At that there were cries of "Ireland," for Ireland's voice is never silent. Snowden's definition of the no annexation formula was complete: it was that no territory taken during war shall be held by right of that conquest alone: it does not prevent readjustment of territory; it provides for it by giving to all peoples the right to dispose of their own destiny. Alsace-Lorraine, Poland, and the Balkans must have that right. "Ireland! Ireland! that insistent cry came again, "and may I add India and Egypt," said Snowden, with the conclusion that when the right is granted to the peoples themselves to decide as to the disposition of the territory they inhabit, a people's peace has been made possible.

E. C. Fairchild, in seconding the resolution, uttered the clear truth for which the internationalists had been waiting: "A French peace no more commends itself to the workers of the world than a German peace: only the Russians have the right to call on the Germans to overturn their Government," and the business before the British people is the overthrow of the Government here at home.

Captain Tupper, of the Seamen's Union, rising to oppose the resolution, wasted many precious moments in protesting against the five minutes' time limit imposed on speakers from the floor. He seemed to be appealing to unknown but expected supporters in creating a disturbance, but hardly a voice was raised in his favour, and instead his protest let loose angry shouts against him: "The swashbuckling captain," "Remember Cardiff," "Are you sober yet?" were cries that rang through the hall, though voices pleaded with the Conference to retain its dignity by letting an opponent speak—whatever he might say. Captain Tupper based the burden of his complaint on the phrase: "No indemnities." He asked who was to pay the widows and orphans of merchant seamen drowned by German submarines. "The shipowners! The shipowners!" many called to him. He answered: "Ah, you may well say that; but you cannot make the shipowners do it." He objected to the idea that the community should bear the expense of pensioning the seamen's widows and orphans, apparently forgetting that their number is immeasurably smaller than the number of the soldiers' widows and orphans. Mr. Bevan, of the Dockers' Union, who also apposed the resolution, was heard without interruption. He had not consorted with jingo capitalists like Captain Tupper; therefore the delegates were willing to hear what he had to say. He did not meet the forbearance extended to him by his opponents with any responding politeness, and it was therefore not surprising that his reference to the "idols of the I.L.P. and B.S.P." was neatly answered by: "You'll not be one of them, any way!" But in the main his words were temperate. He asked what would happen if the Allies should adopt the "no annexations: no indemnities" formula, and Germany should still refuse to adopt it; would the British Socialist anti-War party then agree to a vigorous prosecution of the War? No one replied to him with the very obvious question whether he, in his turn, will oppose the continuance of the War if Germany, Austria, and Turkey unmistakably declare for "no annexations: no indemnities," and the Allies, or some of them, still refuse? He said: "The German Socialist majority is not prepared to respond to the Russian call: I am; and if the Germans refuse, I shall fight for the Russian declaration." But if the Germans agree to the Russian declaration, what will he do then? And since the Allies and our own Government still refuse, what will Mr. Bevan do to fight for the Russian declaration here and now?

Amid shouts of approval a delegate from Mr. Asquith's constituency said that he objected to the resolution because it did not go far enough: it ought to have asked the Government to resign and let the people take its place. Bezalel, of the Foreign Jews Protection Committee, reminded the Conference that the Government which was ready to deport these oppressed people to Russia when the Czardom was in power, now refuses them facilities to return there, and tries instead to force them into the British Army.

Tom Mann rose in the gallery. His position in regard to the War has not been widely known hitherto, and a thrill went through the minority of the delegates who had listened with attention to Bevan and had been impressed by his arguments, not because they were specially well put, but because they fell into line with the story that all the conventional world is telling, and still more, because they called to the primitive savage, not yet eradicated from the race, and always grievously accentuated in War-time, which says: "I must strike first, lest I be struck." Still, even amongst some of those who wear the badges of Socialist organisations, there is just a backward clinging to the idea that it is safest to beat the

(Continued on page 773.)

QUESTIONS OF THE DAY

THE FRANCHISE BILL

Members of Parliament have put down many amendments to this measure, but the Socialists, Labour men and other professed democrats have so far made no attempt to make it an adult suffrage measure. Lord Hugh Cecil, an opponent of the measure, has an amendment on the paper to give women the vote on the same terms as men; also an amendment to restrict the Parliamentary franchise to the municipal terms which only propose to give the vote to owners and tenants. Mr. Martin has put down an amendment to give votes to women at 18 years, Sir Frederick Banbury to leave out the clauses giving women the Parliamentary vote altogether. Major Hunt would give the vote to women at 18 years, but only to women who have served under the Admiralty or War Office outside the United Kingdom during the War. Mr. Holt would slightly broaden the women's franchise by extending it to the wives of Parliamentary electors as well as to wives of Local Government electors. Many members have amendments down to extend plural voting and many desire to disfranchise conscientious objectors. Some wish to reduce the voting age for men to 18 years; some wish to do this only for soldiers and sailors. Sir Clement Kinloch-Cooke and others have put down amendments to enable soldiers and sailors to vote on active service. Mr. Tickler desires to set up proxy voting by engineers and seamen. Mr. Pemberton-Billing would prohibit canvassing. Mr. Clough would prevent the sale of intoxicating drink on polling day. Major Chapple puts forward a complicated new scheme for proportional representation.

Yes, every man rides his pet hobby, but not one cares for Adult Suffrage. Sir John Spear would abolish the pauper disqualification, and we greatly hope that if this very bad Bill goes through his amendment, which runs as follows, may be carried:—

"A person shall not be disqualified from being registered or from voting as a Parliamentary or Local Government elector by reason that he has received poor relief or other alms, or by reason that some person for whose maintenance he is responsible has received poor relief or other alms, or has been maintained in any institute for lunatics within the meaning of the Lunacy Act, 1890, or in any institution for idiots."

Lord Hugh Cecil's' amendment to give women equality with men would also improve the Bill, and we should prefer to see the Bill go through with his amendment than without it. But the Bill is a bad Bill, and should make way for something better. The Bill takes the municipal vote away from some who at present have it. Mr. Yeo, in the effort to broaden it, has an amendment down providing that all occupiers of any part of a house, whether the landlord or his agent be resident in such house or not, shall be deemed tenants for the purposes of voting. This would enfranchise many men and women for municipal purposes and women for Parliamentary purposes. But all this is tinkering. Why can we not have adult suffrage right away?

SIDNEY WEBB FOOD CONTROLLER

The "Daily News" urges the appointment of Mr. Sidney Webb as Food Controller, and quotes the following demands of the War Emergency: Workers' National Committee as representing his policy:—

(1) Purchase of all essential imported foodstuffs.
(2) Commandeering or controlling of all home-grown food products.
(3) Commandeering of ships and control of transport facilities.
(4) Placing on the retail markets of all supplies so obtained and controlled, at prices which will secure the full benefit of Government action to the consumer.
(5) Proportional regulation, on a family basis, of the sale of any foodstuffs in which there is a shortage.
(6) Limitation of the price of bread and flour for the period of the war to sixpence per quartern loaf—any loss involved to be met as a portion of the general cost of the War.
(7) This general policy would be supported by the setting up of municipal Food Control Committees, to which would be co-opted representatives of Labour, Co-operative, and Industrial Women's organisations.

The outline of policy thus given may be interpreted in many ways, but unless it means that all private trading and private profit in food and necessaries shall be eliminated it will fail. Partial buying, partial price-fixing, partial rationing only mean hardship to the poor who are forced to exist on the limited supplies of price-fixed rationed necessaries, whilst the well-to-do can buy themselves out of the risk of famine and add the more expensive unrationed commodities to the ordinary ration.

RUSSIA

Stories of anarchy and disturbance in Russia should be accepted with great reserve. It is suggested that all the disorder which is said to be taking place is caused by the Socialists, but the news that Grand Duke Nicholas has been arrested as a result of royalist riots points to the opposite conclusion. Much has been said and written of Kronstadt; long Press articles are being spun out of surprisingly meagre material, but the news of June 5th is that the Kronstadt Committee has decided to send delegates to Petrograd with power to settle misunderstandings in conjunction with the Committee of Workers' and Soldiers' Delegates. Our capitalist Press, of course, declares in the words of the "Morning Post" that "the Russian people have been overtaken by an extraordinary frenzy of madness," but it is ludicrous to read the "Post's" catalogue of proofs of the existence of the alleged madness. These include the establishment of an eight hour working day, wages of £500 a year for unskilled labourers, £1,000 a year for semi-skilled labourers and £300 or £400 a year for agriculturalists. These figures are probably incorrect, for the "Daily Express" in dealing with shop assistants and their wages, gives as pounds the identical figures which other newspapers give as roubles: a rouble being the equivalent of 2s. 1½d. But if the roubles which the "Morning Post" is perhaps transforming into pounds are really coming to the unskilled labourer we see no reason to lament. We would merely point out that if the "Morning Post's" version of affairs were correct, a rise in wages alone being aimed at, and the old false standards of values and the bad system of capitalism and wage-slavery being allowed to remain, a fall in the purchasing power of money would soon reduce the condition of the people to something approaching its old level. But we believe the changes that are taking place in Russia are deep and fundamental, and, of course, the upholders of the capitalist system all over the world will denounce the changes as anarchy. One hopeful sign is the report that M. Konovaloff, the Minister of Commerce and Industry, has resigned because his views do not coincide with those of the Socialist Minister of Labour, M. Skobeleff. Konovaloff, whose ideals are those of the old capitalist system, has apparently realised that the present state of affairs cannot continue in Russia, and he recommends that the present Government should make way for a homogeneous Socialist Government. He appears to say: "Give this new thing a trial." Half the members of the Russian Government are now said to be Socialists. It is evident that Russia is struggling forward to a new civilisation. Let us acclaim her and follow her example! The Workers' and Soldiers' Council has issuel a further important manifesto calling for speedy peace, in which it says:—

"can only be achieved if the Socialist and Labour parties and the trade unions of all countries, belligerent and neutral, will unite their efforts in a stubborn and energetic fight against this universal slaughter. The first important step in that direction is the summoning of an international conference, whose main object should be to arrive at an agreement between the representatives of the Socialist proletariat in regard to a termination of "the party truce" with the Imperialistic Governments and classes, which renders nugatory a real struggle for peace, as well as to find out ways and means to carry this endeavour into practical effect. An international agreement upon such a policy is the main preliminary condition for placing the struggle for peace on a broad international footing. . . . The Council begs to express its conviction that the parties and organisations which accept this invitation will by doing so accept the obligation to carry out unfailingly all the decisions adopted by the conference."

GERMANY

If it be true, we regret that the German Socialist Minority should have refused to attend the Stockholm Conference because Scheidemann and the other Majority leaders will also be there. In every country we have our majority-national and our minority-international-Socialists, but what were the minorities are rapidly becoming the majorities, and the sooner an internationalist conference can be held the better.

FRANCE

We hope and believe that M. Ribot's refusal to grant passports to the French Socialists to visit the Stockholm Conference will be overcome. The French "peace terms," as they are called, which were enunciated by resolution of the Chamber on June 5th are not peace terms, but war terms. They are: (1) That the invaded territories shall be evacuated; (2) Alsace-Lorraine restored to France; (3) Just reparation for damage done; (4) Prussian militarism struck down; (5) Lasting guarantees of peace and the independence of peoples, great and small, in the already prepared organisation of a society of nations.

(1), of course, goes without saying, though the people by plebiscite should after the War be allowed to alter the frontiers if they so desire; (2) should be decided by a plebiscite if any change is to be made; (3) no reparation for the people killed is possible, and the damage to property should be made good by an international fund on the lines laid down in Kerensky's organ, each belligerent Power contributing on the basis of its War expenditure; (4) can only be accomplished by the German people: the French and their Allies have more than enough to do in this respect at home; (5) may mean anything or nothing: France must change her official outlook before she will be in a frame of mind to agree to the freedom of peoples all round. Only 55 members of the French Parliament voted against the Government resolution.

Mr. ARNOLD LUPTON'S PROTEST

British and Foreign Unitarian Association

The above Association held its annual business meeting at Essex Hall, Essex Street, on Wednesday, May 30th, 1917. The Rev. Dr. J. E. Carpenter, of Oxford, was in the chair and moved the adoption of the report, which contained a message from Dr. Elliott, the well-known Unitarian minister in the United States, expressing his pleasure that the United States had joined the English in the present war, and a reply from Dr. Carpenter in a similar vein. The Chairman having stated that the question of the adoption of the report was open for discussion, Mr. Arnold Lupton said he greatly regretted that the United States was taking a part in this terrible war. Last autumn we all hoped the United States would act as mediator between the conflicting nations of Europe and bring the horrible struggle to an end. This course was hindered by Mr. Lloyd George's celebrated "knock-out blow" speech, and subsequently the United States had decided to take part in the combat, and so lost a position in which she might have acted as mediator and arbitrator, which was one of the greatest misfortunes that had ever happened to the world. Now we could only look to Russia, which was the only country which seemed to show reasonableness, and the only country, apparently, on the side of the Allies, which did not want to continue the War until all their young men were killed or crippled. People had been speaking about the action that our soldiers would take on religious questions when the war was finished, but who would come back from the War? Not many. Only cripples. The young men who went out to fight for their country were heroes worthy of the greatest possible praise and admiration. What could a man do more than offer his business, his health, his life for his country. But whilst we sang the praises of these young heroes, it was the business of the old men at home to see that they did not sacrifice their lives in vain and to adopt every method in their power by negotiation to bring the War to a speedy conclusion. (Loud applause.)

Miss Florence Hill rose and expressed her entire concurrence with the views uttered by Mr. Lupton. Another lady expressed similar sentiments. The Rev. Stanley Mellor, of Hope Street Chapel, Liverpool, in a few well-chosen sentences, expressed his hearty agreement with the view put forward by Mr. Lupton. A gentleman, whose name did not transpire, said: "There is no one who does not desire peace with all his heart; but do they desire to leave Belgium to its fate?" Mr. Lupton rose to reply to this question, when the Chairman ruled that he could not speak again on that resolution.

The Rev. W. G. Tarrant moved a resolution expressing satisfaction that the people of the United States were taking an active part on the side of the Allies, and in so doing read the words of an American minister of religion, saying that the United States joined in the War to prove that they believed in the brotherhood of man. At this Mr. Lupton laughed, and asked if the Germans were not men. Speaking upon the resolution, Mr. Lupton explained that his laughter had been involuntary. It seemed to him that for people to join in a War to prove their faith in the brotherhood of man showed such inconsistency of thought and was such a Mephistophelian sentiment that he was taken off his guard, but he did not mean it to be in any degree offensive to Mr. Tarrant, whom he held in the highest respect. He also thought the people of the United States were mistaken if they thought they would promote freedom by joining in the War. Fifty-two years ago they had accomplished the liberation of their negro slaves, but now their great country, containing one hundred million people was being led into conscription—a worse and more terrible kind of slavery, in which men, whether willing or not were compelled to try to kill their fellow men. There was not much brotherhood in that, and it was the saddest and most horrible calamity which had fallen upon mankind. He thought a better message than that of Dr. Elliott was contained in the sermon of another Unitarian minister, the Rev. John Haynes Holmes, of the Church of the Messiah, New York, published in "The Christian Register" of April 5th, 1917. Mr. Lupton further said that the Germans would certainly retire from Belgium, that could have been obtained two years ago, and also last Xmas. The longer we continued the War, the worse would be the terms that we should get.

Mr. John C. Warren, of Nottingham, said that he rose to support Mr. Lupton, although he adopted a rather different view. He thought that the United States should have come to our aid when Belgium was first invaded, and that now that they had joined in the War it was not from any particularly lofty sentiment but simply because they thought it to their interests to do so.

RECEIVED FOR REVIEW

'Handed Over': The Prison Experiences of Mr. J. Scott Duckers, Solicitor, of Chancery Lane, under the Military Service Act. Written by Himself. With a Foreword by T. Edmund Harvey, M.P. 7¼ in. by 4¾ in., pp. viii. plus 150 plus 1 plate. (London: C. W. Daniel, Ltd., Graham House, Tudor Street, E.C. Price 1s. 6d. net.)

Whatever may be the present outcome of the refusal of the conscientious objectors to undertake military service—and they have already not only gained many concessions from the Government (though these, indeed, do not count for much), but have effected a most important influence on public opinion—the hardships and privations they have undergone will not have been endured in vain. They have initiated a movement, which, spreading throughout the so-called civilised world, will ultimately, it may confidently be believed, put an end to compulsory military service. And it is certain that, as a result of their experiences, we shall witness in this country an effected and much-needed agitation for the reform of our prison system. One is apt to picture a prison as, of course, grim and unpleasant, but at the same time a model of cleanliness and hygiene. But what must strike the reader of these relations of Mr. Scott-Duckers' prison experiences most, after the stupidity of prison life, is its insanitariness.

Mr. Duckers has not been subjected to brutality, or, apart from a trifling incident or so, has he been treated illegally. But if his book is free from those lurid incidents of which other conscientious objectors in prison or the hands of the military could write, it is for this very reason a more telling indictment of the present state of the law, which can allow this continued and senseless punishment of a man for remaining true to his ideals, as Mr. Duckers has most consistently and loyally done.

The book has been written under what one would have imagined to be most difficult circumstances. But the author himself, speculating as to the reason why so many of the greatest men in all ages have been prisoners or fugitives from justice and so many of the greatest books written in prison or monastery cells, writes: "My idea used to be that these men were imprisoned largely because of their greatness, but now I am more inclined to think that they would not have been the men they were but for long years of silence in their cells"—and here, perhaps, may be found the explanation of the literary excellence of his own book. There is an interesting Preface by Mr. T. Edmund Harvey, M.P., a Concluding Note bringing Mr. Duckers' experiences down to date. The author's portrait forms a suitable frontispiece to a volume which is one that no liberal-minded person can afford to ignore.

H. S. REDGROVE.

WOMAN'S EFFORT. By A. E. METCALFE, B.Sc. (Lond.). 3s. 6d. net. B. H. Blackwell, Broad Street. A story with not one, but many heroines.

At first glance it may seem to some people a pity that so much talent and heroism should be spent to obtain so poor a thing as a vote. But as one reads how the patient organisation gave way to impatient indignation, and so to organised opposition against government, the object of all this effort gains in dignity and importance and becomes what suffragists proclaimed it—a symbol of the power that can reconstruct society. The author has taken those 50 years of the Women's Movement which lie between 1865 and 1914, but she gives only 26 pages of her book to the first 40 years—the years of so-called constitutional work, while she wisely devotes almost the whole of the remaining 340 pages to the story of suffrage militancy. The interest begins with the adoption by the W.S.P.U. of the best Irish political methods—increasing opposition to the Government in power. Even to those who know the history of the movement, the devotion to principle on the one side, the stupid brutality and trickery on the other, bring somewhat of a shock. Read how Lady Constance Lytton disguised herself as Jane Warton to prove the undemocratic action of the Government which would torture a working woman, but release a lady of rank, though both were guilty of the same offence; or how George Lansbury stood up in the House of Commons and told the Prime Minister he would go down in history as the man who tortured innocent women and who afterwards gave up his seat in Parliament to seek re-election as a Suffrage candidate rather than risk the suspicion of not representing his constituents, or of Emily Davison's tragic attempt to rouse the conscience of England, or Sylvia Pankhurst forcing the Premier to receive a deputation of working women, and the brief but important history of the W.S.F.; then turn to the achievements of the women's opponents during the same period—broken promises, strange ignorance of history, callous indifference to suffering and cowardly appeals to force and violence. The whole book is an inspiring record for the general reader of what women and men too have suffered for a Cause not yet successful. It is illustrated by cartoons from "Punch": there are an index, list of imprisonments, and a suffrage directory which make the volume an exceedingly useful one from a propagandist point of view.—PATRICIA LYNCH.

IDEALS TRUE AND FALSE,* a collection of essays which was started before the War. This fact lends the first essay, "Ideals True and False," added interest, because of the arguments the author uses in favour of social re-organisation. "This is essentially an age of action as opposed to reflection . . . its leading characteristics are speed and greed"; and "Upon what possible pretext can a Christian community assume the right to discriminate between rich and poor in making provision for its children?" are sentiments to make this essay popular with reformers. A postscript to this essay written in September, 1914, demands that the settlement of the war "be a people's settlement," and urges that now is the time for the voice of the people to make itself heard. The essay on "Women and Internationalism" is a plea for women to be given power to help in making the future saner than the past has been.—M. O'C.

* By Florence Edgar Hobson. Publishers, Headley Bros., Kingsway House, W.C. Price 1s.

PHYSICAL EDUCATION IN RELATION TO SCHOOL LIFE.* Our present system is given a thorough examination, and since it has not a leg to stand on, the necessary condemnation. Mr. Roper is master of his subject, and illustrates the injuries caused to growing children by lack of proper physical exercise. He makes a splendid case for the treating of girls and boys equally, and points out that girls are not given a chance to develop on account of their unhealthy clothing. When they have been given a chance, then only can a statement be made as "to ultimate inferiority or superiority, Mr. Roper advocates definite and simple sex-education based on lessons in anatomy and physiology. All interested in the well-being of children should read this book.—M. O'C.

* By R. E. Roper, M.A., M.Ed. Price 2s. 6d. Publishers, George Allen and Unwin, Ltd.

THE ABSOLUTISTS' OBJECTION TO CONSCRIPTION* is an interesting pamphlet dealing with the arguments of Conscientious Objectors. It contains a selection of letters and statements from C.O.s. The position of the Absolutist is well summed up as follows: "Conscription is the great weapon of Militarism, and freedom from conscription is a trust that this nation holds for other nations as well as for itself. To allow a Military Service Act to be imposed upon this country at the price of personal exemption seems to the Absolutist C.O. to betray that trust."—M. O'C.

* Issued by direction of the Friends' Service Committee, 18 Devonshire Street, Bishopsgate, E.C.2.

THE GENEROUS GOVERNMENT: By P. J. Dollan

I owe the Government an apology. For years I have been contending that the Government of Great Britain did not care about my well-being or the well-being of others, and my contention has been wrong, as least so far as it concerned myself. For during the past two weeks I have been fed, clad, groomed, housed, and guarded by the servants of the Government, and at the expense of the State. Heaps of things which I did not want, and will not use, have been thrust upon me by this most generous Government, which has suddenly discovered that I am a person whose welfare is of national importance and therefore must have these things, whether I desire them or not. The Government, it appears, thinks they are for my good, and its generosity is most embarrassing, as I don't know how to use the wealth it has endowed me with.

* * * *

For years the Government never concerned itself about me or mine. I might have died of neglect for all it seemed to care, and I thought it did not care whether I lived or died. In thinking that way I was foolish, for it appears the Government has been keeping me in mind, finding an opportunity to do me a service. I was first made aware of the Government's intention to take my affairs in hand by King George, who sent me a letter stating the Government desired my services to pull the country out of danger. Then I had repeated invitations from the War Office to place my services at the disposal of the Government, which required them badly; but as I did not respond to the invitation the Government has commandeered me, so anxious is it to have my aid, and I am now in its care.

* * * *

Having taken me over into its care, the Government first attended to my health, and engaged a corpse dissector to locate my ailments; but as I declined to allow that gentleman to make a telephone switchboard of my chest, I was left in ignorance as to my exact condition. The Government, however, paid his fee. Later another man in the employment of the Government stated his superiors had heard I was short of funds, and in their name he offered me a fine gift of 2s. 0d. As I had learned of men getting into trouble through accepting similar gifts from strangers, I declined his kindness and bade him on my behalf to thank his superiors for their unwonted generosity. After that I was escorted by servants of the State to the station, where I was enabled to enter a train and to travel to Hamilton without charge or tips.

* * * *

Lest I might wander on the journey uniformed guides were appointed to accompany me to my destination, where, on arrival, I was given over into the charge of an officer, who was instructed, as if I were a priceless jewel, to place me in safe custody—and in safe custody I remain, with all my wants cared for at the expense of the State. Indeed, so keen is the Government on my welfare that daily an officer visits me to ascertain if I have any complaints and inquires in the most kindly terms after my health and comfort. And so well am I cared for that as yet I have had no complaints of a personal nature, which is very annoying to my visitor, who would like to do me favours if I would only name them. My quarters, though bare of furniture, are scrupulously clean, and no charge is made for rent. The Government, indeed, is hospitable to its guests.

* * * *

In the morning a bugler is paid to rouse me from slumber, and in the evening the same musician informs me it is time to rest. At intervals during the day a piper struts up and down outside my room playing the national music of Scotland, and he, too, I believe, is employed by the Government to contribute to my entertainment. Waiters in uniform bring me three good meals daily and do not wait on tips, and the quantity is abundant enough to suggest that Lord Devonport is unknown in this location. Even when I go out into the yard to exercise I am impressed by the artistry of the surroundings, due to the fact that the Government, with a foresight and thoughtfulness that are absent from its War conduct, has had the walls topped with a beautiful display of broken glass, whose prismatic hues are a glory to behold. In case any guests should disarrange the glass by going over the walls guards are present to protect the decorations.

I am, besides, entitled while here to free medical attention and treatment; free baths; free barbering; in fact, all the essentials of life are dowered upon me as if I were in direct touch and friendship with a deity owning a cornucopia turned in my direction. Then I have been presented with the contents of a clothing shop, including an overcoat and two suits of clothes, and a hundred other articles which formerly cost me much labour, but are now mine for the wearing. A pair of boots which look handy for levelling roads have also been donated, along with an outfit of eating utensils. All these things have been placed in a kit bag, and at the bottom of that capacious chasm I am told there is hidden a weapon much known in the days of Napoleon as a "marshal's baton."

The gifts that have been showered upon me have not been solicited, and as they must have cost round about £30, plus food, lodgings, and attendance, one can understand why, if similar favours are given to other men, the War costs 7½ million pounds a day. I have told the people in authority hear that I do not want the favours, and in reply it is asserted they are mine whether I want them or not. In fact, they have been brought to my room, and lie here awaiting me to use them. And to give a fitting climax to the whole affair, I have been court-martialled for refusing the gifts which I did not want or need. If I am sent to prison for refusing all these gifts I will have time to search in the kit bag for the marshal's baton.

Isn't the Government generous to the point of compulsion?

THE CRYINC OF THE MOTHERS

Whence does it come, bewildered and lamenting,
A new note, a frail note upon the wind tonight;
Is it not the sound of the sorrow of the mothers?
UP AND GET YOU READY NOW, YOUR SON MUST GO TO FIGHT.

All the mothers of the world are softly crying,
Very softly crying, lest their sons should hear;
But all the mothers of the world can hear each other crying:
MY SON IS DEAD WHO KILLED YOUR SON, AND BOTH WERE DEAR.

Only the wind has caught the sound of their lamenting—
(Listen to his wailing very said and low)—
All the secret, broken sorrow of the mothers—
THEY TOOK MY SON AWAY FROM HOME.
I LET HIM GO. MARGARET SACKVILLE.

THE LEEDS CONFERENCE (continued from p. 770)

Germans first, and to wait to cry out for magnanimity towards then, when we are quite, quite sure that we shall not need to plead for magnanimity from them. But Tom Mann gave no support to the War-mongers. He said that the resolution was in tune with the internationalism for which he had always worked; it made plain that those who supported it would work no more for the aggrandisement of empire. We expected that France would fall into line with this policy, but before we cried out to France to do it, let us do it ourselves. When all the Allies were agreed to adhere to the Russian policy, if Germany still refused, then they might say: "See, there the evil lies!" But he did not think matters would end in that way, for though he had much reason to detest German militarism, having been expelled from Germany by force many times, he had met thousands of men and women there whom he admired. At that point cheers drowned his words. The resolution was carried with only two dissentients.

POLITICAL FREEDOM.

The "Civil Liberty" resolution, moved by C. G. Ammon, and carried unanimously, ran :—

This Conference calls upon the Government of Great Britain to place itself in accord with the democracy of Russia by proclaiming its adherence to and determination to carry into immediate effect a charter of liberties establishing complete political rights for all men and women, unrestrcited freedom of the Press, freedom of speech, a general amnesty for all political and religious prisoners, full rights of industrial and political association, and the release of labour from all forms of compulsion and restraint.

We might have asked why the members of Parliament on the platform are discountenancing attempts either to convert the Government Franchise Bill into a genuine measure of Adult Suffrage, or to send it back to its draughtsmen as unsatisfactory, in order that a full measure of political enfranchisement may take its place. But we held our hand; after all, if the Revolution is really coming it matters not what Parliament may do to-day. But when is it coming; when is it coming; how many are ready to force it in? "God knows I'm ready!" said Mrs. Despard. "We shall never have true action except from those who are ready to die"—a brave saying from a grandmother. Bertrand Russell reminded us that 1,000 men are in prison because they believe in the brotherhood of man.

A man from Dundee called the attention of the Conference to the fact that the police had forbidden all open-air meetings in Leeds during that particular week-end; he asked that the "men from Parliament" should lead us into the Square; hence when W. C. Anderson, M.P., urged that we should not wait to follow Lloyd George's instruction to be "audacious" until *after* the War, voices cried out at him waggishly: "Seven o'clock to-night!" Just then the Chairman announced that detectives had entered the building, and had seized a number of pamphlets by E. D. Morel—little things these, but they show that we have some distance to travel before the Government will fear to inflict insulting pin-pricks upon democracy awake and conscious of its power. Very true were the words of Fred Shaw, of Huddersfield :—

Let us go cheerfully forward and ignore all the coercion that a capitalist State can put upon us, and if we laugh at State coercion the collapse of the capitalist State will follow.

THE BRITISH REVOLUTION.

The fourth resolution was the only one which meant action. Here it is :—

This Conference calls upon the constituent bodies at once to establish in every town, urban and rural district, Councils of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates for initiating and co-ordinating working-class activity in support of the policy set out in the foregoing resolutions, and to work strenuously for a peace made by the peoples of the various countries, and for the complete political and economic emancipation of international Labour. Such Councils shall also watch diligently for and resist every encroachment upon industrial and civil liberty; shall give special attention to the position of women employed in industry and generally support the work of the trade unions; shall take active steps to stop the exploitation of food and all other necessaries of life, and shall concern themselves with questions affecting the pensions of wounded and disabled soldiers and the maintenance grants payable to the dependants of men serving with the Army and Navy; and the making of adequate provision for the training of disabled soldiers and for suitable and remunerative work for the men on their return to civil life. And, further, that the conveners of this Conference be appointed a Provisional Committee, whose duty shall be to assist the formation of local Workmen's and Soldiers' Councils and generally to give effect to the policy determined by this Conference.

This most important resolution is not too clearly drafted (was that in view of the D.O.R.A., which we must gain strength to ignore?) It foreshadows revolution: yet it concerns itself with matters of detail which are obviously part and parcel of the present system. It speaks of resisting encroachments upon freedom, though every worker knows that real freedom we have never had, nor can have under this system. When we have secured "the complete political and economic emancipation of international Labour" of which the resolution speaks, we shall not be looking for "remunerative" work for soldiers returning to civil life: This is one of the things we must do till the revolution comes. Ah! the old phrase: "When the revolution comes!" Can we not make it come in this our time? By a vote of the Conference it was decided to disallow amendments to the resolutions on the agenda, because it had not been possible for amendments to be considered by the organisations represented. Had amendments been in order, this resolution might have been altered in many directions. W.S.F. delegates (and no doubt scores of others) had sent in an amendment to add to the phrase "complete political and economic emancipation of international Labour," the words "on the basis of a Socialist Commonwealth," in order that there might be no doubt as to the intention of the Conference. Robert Williams, in seconding the resolution, emphasised the interpretation suggested by this amendment, and urged any who might have "cold feet" about Socialism, the need for revolusionary reforms, and a dictatorship of the proletariat in this country to slip out before this resolution was carried. W.S.F. delegates had also sent up amendments calling for the substitution of the title, "Workers' Council" for that of "Workmen's Council," which springs from an incorrect translation of the Russian word, *raboczyj*, meaning worker, not workman, which is *rabotnik*. The object of this amendment was, of course, to ensure that women should be represented on the proposed Councils. It could not be moved, but Mrs. Snowden put the point and received an ovation in doing so, especially from a band of working women, waving red flags. In the midst of a hubbub, which may have been due to our forgetting to give our name and organisation, we rose to urge, that whilst on the Provisional Council women are represented as one in thirteen, they are thirteen to twelve in the population, and to ask that on the national and local councils, representation shall be be given to the women who to-day are standing in the potato queues. We had scarcely made this appeal than just such a working-class mother of the potato queues, Mrs. Cressall, of Poplar W.S.F., rose in the balcony, demanding adult suffrage. "I shall be asked to give up my sons," she said, "but I refuse; I am an internationalist, all the world is my country." We all applauded. Those words from the mass of sad and oppressed mothers are the words that our souls are longing to hear.

Thus far we were all enthusiasms, but now the voices of practical organisers began to be heard. Noah Ablett, of the South Wales Miners, said he had hoped to hear a plan of campaign outlined: something that delegates could take back to the districts in order that work might start at once. He and others asked what plans were on foot to organise the industrial workers; and how the soldiers' representatives are to be secured. How will it be possible for soldiers' representatives to attend the Council meetings? Propaganda amongst them: action taken by them will be declared subversive of military discipline. Are they ready; are we ready to overcome these difficulties? In Russia, it appears that the Workers' and Soldiers' Councils were not formed until the revolution was well begun and the Czar and his Government had been overthrown by the populace. Then the Provisional Government, though almost entirely composed of capitalistic politicians, dared not oppose itself to the people's will. Can we here take a step which is in absolute conflict with military traditions until we have secured a position too powerful for the Government to attack? Can we now secure that position? Yes; if the workers are ready. When they are ready, they will be all-powerful. Is it intended that the soldiers' representatives shall be discharged soldiers? There are many hundred thousand of them. Is it better that these discharged soldiers should be represented, as such, on the new Councils, than through the organisations of the trades to which they belonged in civil life? We think that probably it is necessary to let them come to this work as soldiers in virtue of their hard-bought experience in the trenches and of their special needs as "broken men."

The Provisional Committee of thirteen members contains four Members of Parliament and a number of representative Socialists and Trade Unionists, one of whom is a woman. Thirteen other representatives are to be elected from districts up and down the country. Will the committee sit day by day as Parliament does? If the members of the committee are to accomplish the great work before them, is it not necessary that they, or at least a considerable part of them, shall set aside all other activities, a revolution not being a thing which can be carried on as a spare-time occupation? Is it unwise that members of Parliament, whose seats are presumably of some value as democratic sounding-boards, should run the risk of sitting on a Council the members of which may be hauled off to gaol at any moment, or may it not be that the biggest service which revolutionary members of Parliament can render, is to take the risk of prison, and to treat their Parliamentary seats as of lesser import than their seats on the people's Council?

Such things must all be carefully considered. But above and beyond them, the great question rests with the workers in the munition factories and in all industry, and with the soldiers and sailors behind the guns: When these are ready THE REVOLUTION will be upon us: May that be soon! Every one of us can do our part in bringing the day nearer: we can talk to those we meet: we can press literature into their hands!

The Leeds Conference sent to the Russian Workers' and Soldiers' Council this resolution :—

The largest and greatest convention of Labour, Socialist, and Democratic bodies held in Great Brtiain during this generation has to-day endorsed Russia's declaration of foreign policy and war aims, and has pledged itself to work, through its newly-constituted Workmen's and Soldier's Council, for an immediate democratic peace.

The "Times" has tried to belittle the Conference, saying: "It was called by certain Socialist societies which are neither very large nor very powerful, which represent no one but themselves," and "in no wise represent the great mass of British Labour." The "Morning Post" referred to the Conference as having been "stage managed"; yet the Conference was attended by 11,051 delegates, of whom 580 represented Trades Councils, local Labour Parties, and Trade Union organisations, 294 represented I.L.P. branches and 88 B.S.P. branches. The annual conference of the Labour Party, which was held in Manchester this year, was attended by something over 700 delegates. This comparison makes clear the fact that the Leeds Conference was indeed a very great Conference. The "Daily Telegraph" does not seek to hide the serious import of the Conference: it calls on the Government to "strangle this mischief at its birth," declaring it to be "mischief of the most dangerous kind, which, if left alone, is sure to spread." It demands that the passports of the British Socialists to Petrograd shall be cancelled forthwith, and that "no more of these Conventions shall take place on any pretext whatsoever." But it is too late: the tide in the Labour world has turned, and neither the Government, nor the "Daily Telegraph," can stop the spread of this so-called "mischief." Coercion can only feed the flame of revolt. The Russian revolutionaries have sent their good wishes to the United Socialist Council, and to the committee of thirteen which called the Conference, H. Alexander, C. G. Ammon, W. C. Anderson, Mrs. Despard, E. C. Fairchild, J. Fineberg, F. W. Jowett, Ramsay Macdonald, George Lansbury, Tom Quelch, Robert Smillie, Philip Snowden, and Robert Williams.

All British Socialists who desire to see the realisation of the great ideal in our time will eagerly support them in action toward that end.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

THE "DREADNOUGHT"

The W.S.F. Annual Conference decided that the title of our paper must be changed from the "Woman's Dreadnought" to the "Workers' Dreadnought." This change will be made in the issue dated July 7th.

Mr. Edgar Lansbury, our hon. treasurer, has kindly paid for an indicator contents sign, to be displayed at the bookstall of the Bow Road District Railway Station, where the DREADNOUGHT is on sale. Other supporters are asked to follow suit; the indicators can be obtained at a cost of 30s. Those who use the Bow Road Station should look out for the sign and encourage the newsagent by buying a copy of the paper from him.

CITY of LONDON BRANCH of the Independent Labour Party

DEBATE on the SPEAKER'S CONFERENCE

FRIDAY, JUNE 8th, 1917, at 7.30 p.m., at HOLBORN HALL GRAYS INN ROAD.

Debaters:—

Miss SYLVIA PANKHURST
(of the Workers' Suffrage Federation) and
Mrs. A. E. CORNER
A Representative Speaker of the Women's Freedom League

Tickets - - - Price Sixpence at the door

THE BITTER CRY OF THE BRITISH ALIEN

Dear Editor,—I am the English-born wife of a German interned at the Alexandra Palace one year and ten months. I have seven children under 13 years of age, the youngest two years, all English born. The Government allowed me £1 1s. 6d. for the first nine months. I could not live on that, so I went to work and earned 14s. per week. Then they took off 9s. 3d.: that left me 12s. 3d. allowance. Out of that I had to pay 4s. 6d. to have two children minded and 6s. 3d. rent. For seven months I had to struggle on that, then I had to leave my work owing to ill-health, and then they gave me another 2s. 9d., making 15s., and the price of food is so dreadful that they offered me work in the Union at 13s. per week, so I have 13s. and an extra 3s., making it 18s. from the Government, with what I earn making 31s. per week. Out of that I pay 4s. 6d. and 6s. 3d. rent, and feed and clothe eight of us. It is a most dreadful struggle; I cannot get necessaries to keep the children strong and myself fit to work. I walk six miles a day to work from 7 to 5 o'clock. My husband has lived in this country 20 years, and I have no friend in the world but my husband.

Yours, etc.,
M. K——.

THE
WORKERS' SUFFRAGE FEDERATION

To secure Human Suffrage, namely, a Vote for every Woman and Man of full age, and to win Social and Economic Freedom for the People.

Entrance Fee ***1d.***
Minimum Subscription ... ***1d. a month***

I wish to become a Member of the W.S.F. and enclose.....subscription and entrance fee for.....months.

Name.....

Address.....

WHAT'S ON?
W.S.F. FIXTURES
OUTDOOR

FRIDAY, JUNE 8th.
Salmon and Ball, 7 p.m., Mrs. Drake, Mrs. Leigh Rothwell.
Bonner Lane, Old Ford Road, 7 p.m., Mrs. Walker.
SATURDAY, JUNE 9th.
Gernon Road, Roman Road, 11.30 a.m., Mrs. Boyce.
Hoxton Street, 2.30 p.m., Mrs. Cressall.
Lesbia Road, Hackney, 7 p.m., Mrs. Boyce.
SUNDAY, JUNE 10th.
Osborn Street (Whitechapel), 11.30 a.m., Mrs. Boyce.
Salmon and Ball, 11.30 a.m., Mrs. Walker.
The Grove, Stratford (joint with N.-C.F.), 11.30 a.m., Mrs. Bouvier.
Victoria Park, 4 p.m., Mrs. Cressall, Miss Price.
Cannon Street Road, 6.30 p.m., Mrs. Walker.
The Square, Woolwich, 7.30 p.m., Mrs. Boyce.
MONDAY, JUNE 11th.
Ford Road, Bow, 11.30 a.m., Miss Price.
TUESDAY, JUNE 12th.
Bonner Lane, Old Ford Road, 11.30 a.m., Miss Price.
Clock Tower, Burdett Road, 7.30 p.m., Mrs. Boyce.
WEDNESDAY, JUNE 13th.
Hague Street, Bethnal Green, 7.30 p.m., Mrs. Boyce.
THURSDAY, JUNE 14th.
Sutton Street, Commercial Road, 7.30 p.m., Mrs. Boyce.
FRIDAY, JUNE 15th.
Salmon and Ball, 7 p.m., Mrs. Cressall, Mrs. Leigh Rothwell.
Hoxton Street, 7 p.m., Mrs. Boyce, Miss Beamish.
SATURDAY, JUNE 16th.
Gernon Road, Bow, 11.30 a.m., Miss Price.
Well Street and Morning Lane, 11.30 a.m., Mrs. Boyce.
Lesbia Road, Hackney, 7.30 p.m., Mrs. Walker.
Ford Road, Bow, 7.30 p.m., Mrs. Boyce.

INDOOR

CHANDOS HALL, 21a Maiden Lane (off Bedford Street, Strand, W.C.—At Home to-day (Saturday), at 3.30 p.m. Mr. S. V. Bracher, "The Future of the British Empire"; Mrs. Drake, "The Present Outlook."

EMERSON CLUB, 19 Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C.—Last "At Home" of the season, June 16th, 3.30 p.m. Mrs. Ganley, "Children's Care"; Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, "The Present Outlook."

BOW WOMEN'S HALL.—Wednesday next, 8 p.m. Singing Class.
Bow Branch meeting, Monday, June 11th, 8 p.m. Agenda: General business; branch accounts.

49 CREDITON ROAD, TIDAL BASIN.—Wednesday next, 8 p.m., Branch Meeting.

ST. STEPHEN'S SHOP, 85 Hoxton Street (a few minutes' walk from Shoreditch Church or from Old Street Station).—Thursday, June 14th, 8.15 p.m., Miss Lynch.

GRAVEL PIT HALL, Valette Street and Mare Street, Hackney.—Tuesday, June 5th, 7.30 p.m., Mrs. Minnie Lansbury, Miss Lynch.

POPLAR WOMEN'S HALL, 20 Railway Street.—Wednesday next, 8.15 p.m., Mrs. Bouvier, "The Situation in Russia."

53 ST. LEONARD'S STREET, BROMLEY.—Monday next, 2 p.m., Mrs. Bouvier.

THE "MOTHERS' ARMS," 438 Old Ford Road, E.—Saturday, June 16th, 6 to 10 p.m., musical "At Home," in aid of the nursery. Music—instrumental and vocal. Games, etc., refreshments. Tickets, 1s., including tea.

Madame Levinskaya's Concert

In aid of the "Mothers' Arms" and East End Babies Milk Fund, at 50 Leinster Gardens, Bayswater Road, W.2 (by kind permission of Madame Maria Levinskaya), a Chamber Music Concert will be held on Saturday, June 9th, at 3.15 p.m., doors open at 2.45 p.m. Artistes: Maria Levinskaya (piano), Lena Kontorovitch (violin), Gertrud Bauer (viola), Essie Creamer ('cello). Tickets, 7s. 6d., 5s. and 2s. 6d., to be obtained from the Financial Secretary, 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E.3.

OTHER ORGANISATIONS

WOMEN'S LABOUR LEAGUE, Congregational School Room, Broadway, Barking.—Tuesday, June 12th, 3 p.m., Mrs. Bouvier.

WALTHAMSTOW, WILLIAM MORRIS HALL, Somers Road.—Tuesday, 2.30 p.m. League of Rights Meeting.

KINGSLEY HALL.—Meeting, Sunday, 10th, 8.15 p.m. Speaker, Jouty Hanaghan; subject, "The Dawn of the New Age." Discussion, 9.30 p.m.

THE EMILY DAVISON ANNIVERSARY.—SUFFRAGETTES OF THE W.S.P.U.—A Meeting will be held on Sunday, June 10th, at 3.30 p.m., in Hyde Park (Marble Arch entrance), when Miss Mary Richardson and others will speak. It is hoped that all Suffragists who can will support this memorial meeting in appreciation of the woman who gave her life for the freedom of women.

Donations to be sent to the Hon. Treasurer, Mr. Edgar Lansbury, or to the Hon. Financial Secretary, Miss N. L. Smyth, 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E.
All parcels to 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E.

GRATEFULLY ACKNOWLEDGED

GENERAL FUND.—Anon, per Miss Pankhurst, 10s.; W.S.F. Central Branch, 10s.; Mr. Precious, 5s.; Mrs. Pointer, 5s. COLLECTIONS: Central Branch W.S.F., 11s. 4d.; Miss Price (three), 16s. 4d.; Mrs. Boyce, 7s. 9d.; Miss Stephen, 5s.

"DREADNOUGHT" FUND.—Miss Dorothy Jewson, 10s.; Miss Ada Frisby, 7s. 6d.; A. J. Marriott, Esq., 5s.; per Mrs. Bouvier, 2s. 10d.; A. D., per Miss Clemence Housman, 2s. 6d.; Mrs. Richmond (fortnightly), 2s.; Miss Eagle, 1s.; Miss E. M. Davies (monthly), 6d.

LIBEL ACTION FUND.—Auckland, New Zealand, General Labourers' Union, 10s.; Auckland Painters' Union, 10s.; Auckland Gasworkers' Union, 10s.; G. T. Jones, 5s.; Mrs. Wright, 2s. 6d.; Mrs. Moore, 2s. 6d.

MILK AND GENERAL DISTRESS.—Misses Beck, £2 2s.; per Miss Weir (monthly), £1 10s.; P. Durant, £1; Contessa Tomasi Isolani (monthly), £1; F. G. H. Coster, £1; Nurse Hebbes (weekly), 12s.; Mrs. Richmond (fortnightly), 10s.; Mrs. Usherwood (monthly), 7s.; Miss Ada Frisby, 6s.; A. J. Marriott, Esq., 5s.; Mrs. D. E. Brown, 2s. COLLECTIONS: L.S.A. Tool Room, £1 7s. 3d.; Miss F. Zietal, per Miss Lagsding (Milk Box), 11s. 4½d.; Misses E. Lagsding and T. Barker (Green's Yard), 9s. 3d.; Bow Sale of Clothes, 5s.; Miss Schaub, 5s.; Mrs. Green, 5s.; Miss Molly Newman, 2s.

W.S.F. BRANCHES AT THE LEEDS CONFERENCE

The following W.S.F. branches have notified us that they were represented: Headquarters, Bromley, Bow and Poplar, Tidal Basin, Central London, St. Pancras, South Norwood, Portsmouth, Southampton, Birmingham, Sheffield, York, Hull, Brighouse. The secretaries of other branches which sent delegates are asked to communicate with us.

THE ADULT SUFFRAGE REFERENDUM

Canvassers and speakers are wanted to help with the Adult Suffrage Referendum, which will be taken in Bow shortly. Offers of help should be addressed to Miss Lynch, 400 Old Ford Road, E.3.

BIRMINGHAM W.S.F. BRANCH

Next meeting, Wednesday, June 13th. Speaker, Miss Haly. Miss Boden, our delegate at Leeds Conference, will report.

P. H. D.

FOREIGN NEWS

LIEBKNECHT STARVING.

The Socialist deputy Wurm stated in the Reichstag that political prisoners—amongst whom is Liebknecht—are starving. Great indignation amongst the workers has been caused by this news. Funds are being raised to help the political prisoners.

Delegates from the Hungarian Socialist Party, from the Polish Socialist Party, and from the Czech Socialist Party have arrived in Stockholm.

Negotiations are reported between the Russian Government and the Allies concerning the revision of the answer to Wilson with regard to the Allies' war-aims.

Strikes in Paris are growing. Women of all industries join the strikers successively. The strikes are an inevitable consequence of high food prices. Public sympathy is with the strikers. In some industries the strikers have got full satisfaction and have returned to work.

The first proclamation of the Russian Revolutionary Parliament containing peace-conditions has caused great enthusiasm in the trenches; it has also been printed in the German language, and 500,000 copies have been thrown into the German and Austrian trenches.

At a congress of military delegates in the Ukraina, it was decided to demand that the Provisional Government immediately proclaim the autonomy of the Ukraina.

Andrejew, the well-known Russian writer, says in the "Russkaya Holia": "The danger of famine in Russia is great. Very soon the starving Russian army may abandon the trenches and disperse in panic all over the country. Separate peace with Germany is practically accomplished at the front.

Hunger riots are reported from Portugal. The damage caused is considerable. Twenty-five persons have been killed, 250 seriously injured.

The "Berlinske Tidende" reports complete anarchy in Finland. All traffic is stopped. The workers have decided not to pay any taxes to the local authorities.

Austria is prepared to submit advantageous peace-conditions to Russia.

Two hundred and fifty-seven Russian political exiles arrived in Petrograd under the leadership of Robert Grimm, the Swiss Socialist deputy.

The Poles residing in London have formed a Federation of Polish organisations in England. The Federation calls upon all the Poles to take part in their meeting to discuss the future of Poland and to act jointly against the compulsory military service of the Poles in the British Army.

The "Socialiste Belge" says: "Stockholm is the direct continuation of the Russian Revolution. The Socialist International must take part in the peace negotiations. Peace must be concluded as soon as possible. But this peace must serve the aims of the International proletariats.

DR. FRITZ ADLER'S DECLARATION.

In his last declaration in the Court of Justice, Dr. Adler said: "Social-Democracy has abandoned its root principles—people no longer possess convictions. The contagion of this spirit in my party is one of the motives which made me decide to commit this action. There was no difference between my political friends and myself before the War, but Socialists who have voted war-credits have betrayed our Socialist ideal and deserted the idea that the proletariat has to struggle for the welfare of mankind and not to stop at narrow nationalism. The "Arbeiter-Zeitung," however, fought against this idea. One can easily understand what separated me from my party during the War. By my action I wanted to bring back my political friends to the International ideal. I am not an anarchist. I stand for the class war by every means—even by violence if legal ways are insufficient. I am fully responsible for what I did. I was conscious that I would have to pay with my life for this action." When the death sentence was pronounced Dr. Adler shouted: "Long live the International Revolutionary Social-Democracy"!

The Russian Labour Minister, Skobeleff, has appointed Gwosdew, a workman, to be his assistant.

The Hungarian Prime Minister, Tisza, is said to have resigned because the Emperor has not accepted his Electoral Reform Bill.

WOMAN IN RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT

The Countess Panin, a popular philanthropic organiser, has been offered the post of Assistant Minister in the new Department of Public Welfare.

We hope that this woman may prove a worthy Minister, but we must point out that unless she is possessed of strong and good convictions and a clear brain the mere fact of her being a woman will be of small avail.

VOTES FOR WOMEN IN SWEDEN

The "Daily Telegraph" says: "Our Stockholm correspondent wires that in the course of the next few days the Swedish Prime Minister will have to reply to an interpellation in the Riksdag with regard to woman's suffrage and the revision of the constitution."

WELL DONE, ROBERT SMILLIE!

At the great meeting in the Coliseum which followed the Leeds Conference on June 3rd, Robert Williams stated that the Government had offered Robert Smillie the office of Pensions Minister or those of Food Controller or Coal Controller, telling him that he might name his own salary, but the incorruptible miners' leader had refused to accept any office in a capitalist Government. In the applause which greeted the statement, Keir Hardie's name rang out, sounded by many voices.

MOTHERS' PENSIONS

A successful conference organised by the local W.S.F. was held in Birmingham on Saturday last, June 2nd, when Judge Neil, of Chicago, U.S.A., addressed delegates of social workers of all shades of opinion. A resolution was passed unanimously calling upon the Government to introduce a similar scheme in England to that now in existence in the States, to prevent the breaking up of the home, and the necessity for the mother to go out to work. Mrs. Barrow Cadbury presided. She said we wanted every child to have a fair start in life, so that the citizens of the future would live in a world better than we knew.

* * * *

"Daily Telegraph," June 5th.—"A notice has been exhibited at an important small arms factory in Middlesex, warning workers not to indulge in conversation outside the factory concerning any special operation in which they may take part in connection with their work. Indiscreet talking, it is added, might be the means of conveying valuable information to the enemy." Or to the Trade Union?

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Bound Volumes I and II of "Woman's Dreadnought now ready, price 6/6 each To be obtained at 400 Old Ford Road, London, E. Postage, 7d. extra.

MISCELLANEOUS ADVERTISEMENTS

FAMILY LIMITATION DOCTRINE. Post free, 1½d. —Malthusian League, Queen Anne's Chambers, Westminster.

SUFFRAGE WORKERS should spend their holidays at "Sea View," Victoria Road, Brighton. Hostess, Miss Turner.

SOUTHEND: Apartments or Bed-Sitting Room, near bandstand, pier.—C., 1 Grange Gardens, Southend.

WANTED, Situation as **COOK** in Restaurant or Hotel; good references. Apply Box 22, 400 Old Ford Road, E.

SOUTHEND: Furnished Apartments, 8 minutes from sea and train; a Furnished House conveniently situated.—Apply "400" this Office.

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FREE WORLD: Law Love, Temple Truth, Sovran Self! Recitals by Alexander Hunter.

WANTED, for East London Toy Factory, a LEARNER.—Apply 45 Norman Road, E.3.

WANTED.—We urgently need a PIANO in our hall. A member has very kindly offered to put one in order for us if quite out of repair. Have any friends an old and useless piano they can present us with?—St. Stephen's Shop, 85 Hoxton Street, N.

TO LET—HALL for meetings, etc., holds 60. Terms moderate.—Apply Miss Beamish, St. Stephen's Shop, 85, Hoxton Street, N.

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